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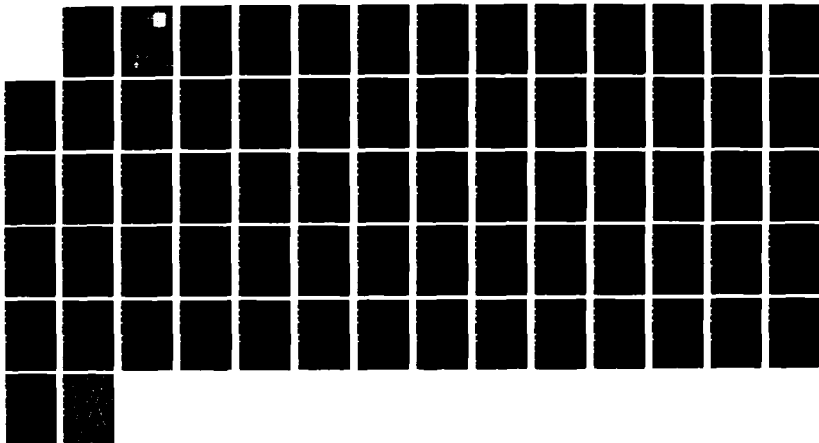
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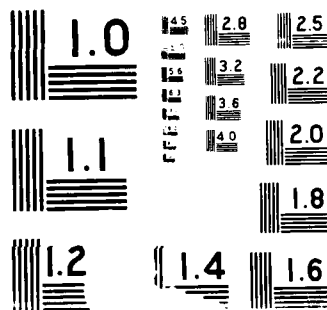
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BRAZIL--AN ALLIED COUNTRY? (A BRAZILIAN APPROACH)

BY

COLONEL PAULO JOSE ABREU de ANDRADE

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The arguments shown throughout the analysis will also demonstrate that the Brazilian people understand the differences between the two countries. Therefore, they are better able to define the Brazilian posture in the event of a conflict within the established circumstances.

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**BRAZIL - AN ALLIED COUNTRY ?
(A BRAZILIAN APPROACH)**

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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Project Adviser

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U.S. Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

30 March 1988

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ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Paulo José Abreu de Andrade, COL, Brazilian Army
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The world is divided nowadays into two areas of influence headed by the United States and the Soviet Union. So, it is important for the leaders of these two blocs to know how to attract countries to their orbits.

Brazil has the condition to align with the Western bloc, but because of several circumstances there has been a progressive distancing from the United States.

The reasons for this distancing are analyzed through the study of the four instruments of power. In order to reach a better understanding of the sociopsychological, diplomatic, economic and military aspects as they apply in this case, I introduced an introductory chapter on the conquest and colonization of Brazil.

Thus, the paper intends to show that although Brazil shares some values with the leader of the Western bloc its posture as an allied country should not be taken as a given.

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BRAZIL - AN ALLIED COUNTRY ? (A BRAZILIAN APPROACH)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL

The world's current turmoil in which two major ideologies headed by the United States and the Soviet Union confront each other using a variety of tactics to spread their influence and authority, forces the senior leaders of the two blocs to consider their strategy.

There are many reasons why Latin America has a close affinity with the United States: geographical proximity, common tradition of Christianity, the ideals of democracy and belief in a market economy.

Tensions will develop from time to time as each country pursues its own nationalistic aims, and these tensions can be exploited by the Soviet Union. This is the case with Brazil. It is a country that has many reasons for being associated with the western bloc. Nevertheless, both capitalist and communist systems have sought to influence Brazil because of its economic potential, geostrategic position and future prospects as a great nation.

SCOPE AND THESIS

This paper analyzes the relationship between Brazil and the United States. It focuses on the similarities and differences. A brief presentation of the colonial period will be followed by an

analysis of the four instruments of power (sociopsychological, diplomatic, economic and military) from the author's point of view, in order to determine Brazil's position in the event of a conflict in which it would be called to fight as part of a multinational force.

This essay will also describe the parallel development of both nations, concluding why U.S. development has been at a geometric progression in relation to Brazil's arithmetical rate. The present situation, outlook and trends will be briefly examined in order to provide conclusions to each aspect analyzed.

This essay will focus too on human aspects because in the last analysis man is the synthesis of a nation's history.

In short, the paper intends to show that although Brazil shares some values with the leader of the Western bloc its posture as an allied country should not be taken as a given.

The arguments shown throughout the analysis will also demonstrate that the Brazilian people understand the differences between the two countries. Therefore, they are better able to define the Brazilian posture in the event of a conflict within the established circumstances.

CHAPTER II

CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

THE EARLY TIMES

Brazil was discovered in 1500 and no one knows for sure until now the reasons behind its discovery. In reality, while the Portuguese government wished to lay claim to Brazil, it did not have the resources to settle the country as it was already committed to prosperous commerce with India.

The settlement involving the division of Brazil into 14 regions known as Captainships, was initially assigned to privileged citizens who were invested with absolute powers.

The early promise of wealth, however, did not occur. As a result, the head of the Captainships (Captainship Donees) lost interest, and there was no attempt to organize a settlement. In fact, the few men that went to Brazil were exiles. The Portuguese expelled the undesirable elements of their society and subsequently returned to Portugal with their ships full of "Pau-Brasil" (1) and enslaved indians.

The first genuine attempts at settlement happened during the time of General-Governments (2), beginning in 1548. But the main aim among these settlers was just one - adventure. They intended to make a quick fortune based on the land's wealth and return to Portugal as soon as possible.

The exploitive aim and the failure to find metals and gems made Brazil an undesired land by all those who came with such a spirit.

The opposite was the case in the USA. The arrival of the first settlers who succeeded and prospered in Jamestown in 1607, began a true settlement, encouraged by different reasons.

They did not arrive in search of a quick fortune, but to escape religious persecution, intending to find a land where they could work to establish a new life and worship God. When they embarked, they brought family and personal belongings. They did not intend to return Europe. They aimed to build a new nation. They came to settle down and stay as opposed to the Portuguese in Brazil who came to conquer and return.

THE CONQUEST

Geographic Factors

Geographic factors were responsible for the different attitudes of both settlers and conquerors. They drew the current borders of both countries. Only the most important features will be discussed.

Relief

Brazil has, in general terms, a broad plain surface in the center, west and north (Amazonian) and a wide plain in the northeast. It is surrounded in the north by a chain of mountains covered by the Amazon jungle. Its shore, along almost its entire extent, from the northeast to the south is confronted by a continuous wall (covered by the Atlantic forest) which makes penetration of the narrow coastal plain difficult. As the Portuguese arrived in the country by the eastern and southeastern

coasts, it was obvious that they had the difficulty entering the country. So they restricted themselves to the coast. Once the mountains were crossed, movement would have been greatly facilitated and only stopped by the Andes in the western part of the continent.

Hydrography

Although Brazil possesses numerous rivers, two features limit their use as a means of penetration. The smallest rivers, almost all tributaries of the Atlantic basin, are narrow, shallow and fast, presenting difficulties or making them impossible for navigation. The largest ones (Amazon, São Francisco) lead to wild regions.

Vegetation

About 60% of the Brazilian territory is covered by the Amazon forest which comprises primary vegetation, difficult to penetrate. The Sea Mountains were covered, at the time of colonization, by the Atlantic forest. The northeastern area, a semi-arid region, is covered by dispersed kinds of plants.

The vegetation was also a limiting factor, not only in the penetration of the country, but equally so for those living on the coast.

Weather

The first demarcation of Brazil, as defined by the Tordesilhas Treaty (3) as belonging to the Portuguese, placed

Brazil almost entirely in the tropical zone. The expansion, motivated by subsequent exploration and recognized by further treaties which gave Brazil its present shape, took place mainly towards the west and north, and enlarged the country toward regions where a hot, tropical climate prevailed and where living and working conditions were difficult.

Geographical features in the USA

The brief analysis of Brazil's geographic aspects suggests that settlement was difficult.

A quick comparison with the USA, however, shows that geography helped the settlement of that country.

- The relief, together with vegetation, restrained life in Brazil to the coastal areas. In the USA, however, wide coastal plains, the non-existence of impenetrable forests and the smooth mountains of the Alleghanies made access to the west much easier. Once men reached the so-called mid-west, there was a tremendous motivation to get to the Pacific Ocean. The Rocky Mountains, therefore, were the only physical obstacle.

- While hydrography may initially suggest an advantage to Brazil, an analysis of this issue suggests otherwise. On the other hand, rivers in the USA run in wide plains and most are navigable and they orient movement towards the interior. Whereas the Amazon river leads to an impenetrable jungle, the Mississippi-Missouri and their countless tributaries orient penetration towards the largest continuous surface of agricultural lands in

the world - the American mid-west.

- The tropical Brazilian weather was always a debilitating factor to productive activities. It was one of the reasons for the settlers' laziness and lassitude. On the other hand, the USA's varieties of seasons encouraged work.

- We can conclude, therefore, that geographic features in the USA were conducive to settlement in the interior while in Brazil, settlement was restricted to the coast.

Interior Settlement

How can we explain the great Brazilian advance towards the west if the geographic features tended to restrict settlement to the coast ?

Some groups of adventurers, the "Bandeirantes" (4), unsatisfied with the non-discovery of instant wealth, and encouraged by Portugal, penetrated in huge and empty central plateau to search for gold and indians to be enslaved. This penetration occurred gradually over three centuries leaving in its trail small population centres, dispersed, independent and without an economic base. They were really islands of settlement. They had neither an organized sense of settlement nor a sense of nationality.

In the USA, interior settlement happened in a different manner. At first, the settlers stayed on the east coast. Their western movement, however, was progressive and motivated by the new lands where they could settle down and farm. New England's

tremendous economic development was the catalyst for the move towards the west. Hence, there was a gradual and organized settlement, carried on through history.

COLONIZATION

With regard to colonization, the differences between the two countries are quite marked.

In Brazil, as detailed above, the first settlers were exiles who came against their will and, of course, without their families. The main reason which led Portugal to settle Brazil was the threat of losing the colony, first to the French (5) and then to the Dutch (6). Nevertheless, there was only one motivation for the settlers - to make a fortune and to return.

But the "Bandeirantes" contributed to expansion in an indirect way; on one hand they increased the territory while leaving small villages which became the nucleus of farms and cities.

With the failure to find wealth, Brazil turned back to the agro-pastoral development that had begun in the sixteenth century with the planting of sugar cane and came through the centuries, ending with the coffee (plantation cycle). It was also the time of cattle raising. Men began to settle down.

But it was only in the nineteenth century (from 1824) that the first European settlers came to occupy the Southern region. They came, as the case of the American settlers, committed to stay in the new land. They brought their families and personal

belongings, intending to work and never return to Portugal. This can explain, to a certain extent, the imbalance of development between the Brazil's southern and south-eastern regions - productive and industrialized, against the northern and northeastern areas - extractivist and predatory.

The settlers in the USA, committed since the very beginning to the necessity of staying, had a different motivation. They, regardless their nationalities, turned their back to Europe, cut the linkages with their countries and had one idea in mind - to colonize and build up a new nation.

Several groups of English, German, French, Spanish and Dutch came to the USA. The English became the most important part of the settlement and succeeded in imposing themselves over the other people, primarily because of:

- trading resources;
- the most numerous contingent;
- open policy of immigration;
- military success.

CHAPTER II

ENDNOTES

- (1) "Pau Brazil" is a kind of hard wood of very good quality used in both naval and house construction, and furniture. Soon after the discovery, the Portuguesees began to send to Portugal enormous quantities of this precious wood as ballast of their ships. His name gave origin to the country's name.
- (2) After the failure of the Captainship system, Portugal decided to centralize the government of the new colony. The first organized colonizing expedition came with the first Governor - Thomé de Souza, in 1548.
- (3) The Tordesilhas Treaty was signed between Portugal and Spain in 1494 and it dealt with both the discovered and to be discovered lands. The two kings agreed to draw an imaginary meridian 370 leagues (measure of distance: one league equal to 3.72 miles) westward of the Green Cape Islands. All the lands to the east of this line would belong to Portugal; the ones to the west to Spain.
- (4) "Bandeirante" was the name given to both the chief and the members of the expeditions to Brazil's inland. These expeditions were financed either by the king of Portugal or individuals, and they were responsables by the enlargement of the early Brazil's borders from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, because many of them crossed the

Tordesilhas Treaty's line. All the boundary disputes so created were resolved latter by means of new agreements: Lisbon Treaty (1681), "Utrecht" (1713-1715), "Madrid" (1750), "Santo Ildefonso" (1777) and "Badajoz" (1801).

- (5) The French invaded Brazil twice. The first invasion happened in 1555 when Vice-Admiral Nicolau Durand de Villegagnon invaded Guanabara Bay (nowadays the city of Rio de Janeiro) and founded Antartic France. He had two main objectives: to give the French calvinist a new land, escaping from religious persecution, and to trade with the Indians. They were finally expelled in 1567. The second invasion took place in 1612 when Daniel de La Touche invaded the state of Maranhão, in the Northeastern region (see Map, Appendix I) and founded the Equinotial France. They were thrown out by the Portuguese in 1615.
- (6) The Dutch attempted to invade the state of Bahia (see Map, Appendix I) in 1624, but they did not succeed and were expelled less than one year latter. They returned again in 1630 and could conquer the richest region in production of sugar cane - the state of Pernambuco. Then they enlarged the domination and conquered most of the Brazilian eastern coast. As they wanted to settle a new colony, the Netherlands sent the Prince Maurice de Nassau to take over, and he had a successful administration. The Portuguese reaction began in 1644 and after a ten-year campaign the Dutch were definitely thrown out.

CHAPTER III

SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS

GENERAL

This aspect will be given more emphasis than any other factor, as explained in the Introduction, because the human element of any society is the main issue in understanding a nation's diversities and how to deal with them.

In the previous chapter (Conquest and Colonization), the differences between American and Brazilian settlers were discussed. Those differences, projected through the centuries, not only resulted in the current different levels of culture, but also pointed out several common threads that, on examination, will be the common bond between the nations.

ETHNIC DEVELOPMENT

From the start of colonization, two types of people arrived in Brazil: those exiled and the adventurer. Both had similar characteristics: they came without family and personal belongings. The former were obliged to stay and the latter whose thoughts turned frequently to their homeland. So it was natural that they began to mix with the indians who gradually absorbed Portuguese civilization and culture.

When the large farms were set up to produce agriculture or raise cattle slave labor became necessary and Brazil was flooded

by Africans. Even though fraternization with slaves was frowned upon, it increasingly became the norm. Therefore, all races progressively assimilated and no racial discrimination persists.

In the USA settlers moved with their whole family. This aspect, plus religious reasons, prevented them from mixing with Indians and the African slaves who arrived on the southern farms. Hence, disapproval of racial mixing was both social and religious, and it resulted in discrimination.

RACIAL SUPERIORITY THEORY

Several authors have written, obviously without scientific base, that the origin of dissimilarities in the development between Brazil and USA was because the Americans were derived from pure races, and because they did not mix during colonization. Therefore the Brazilians, who did not discriminate in their race relations, would be an impure, and consequently, an inferior one. An in-depth analysis of such aspects is outside the scope of this paper, so only two examples will be given to disprove this theory:

Soon after the Civil War the Southerners, unwilling to live under Union rule, were faced with the possibility of moving to a new land where they could re-establish their life style. Migratory expeditions were organized. The more significant groups left from the ports of New Orleans, Charleston and Mobile. According to the theory of racial superiority, they could (theoretically) have resumed their life style in Brazil. Some

3000 settled in the States of Pará, São Paulo and Espírito Santo (1).

After almost eighty years (in 1940), The Saturday Evening Post conducted survey on the theme: "Well, what about those sessessionist who settled Brazil ?" The following conclusion was reached: there was no vestige of the immigrants in Espírito Santo; almost all of them died in Pará because they could not acclimatize themselves to the Amazonian region (2); those that drove to São Paulo built up the city of Americana. Although this city grew, it is indistinguishable from its neighbors.

The second example derives from the difficulty that the Ford Company had when it intended to enhance its production. It was necessary to produce rubber in large quantities. A plan was established aimed at planting and exploiting rubber. The city of Santarém, in the State of Pará, was chosen. The land was acquired, the rubber-trees planted and cultivated, using the most advanced technology. It was a failure because the trees did not meet the expectations and moreover the American did not adapt to the region. So the project was abandoned. The Amazon region was as inhospitable to Americans as it is to the Brazilians today.

The article by professor Wilton Marion Krogman, of Penn University (3), about racial superiority may be used as to conclude this issue:

"... (1) there are no pure races; (2) there are no superior or inferior races. We know from history that all peoples, upon contact, have crossed their genetically-based physical traits. We

know from human anatomy that in fundamental structure all peoples are identical.

As far as biological Man is concerned, what he is, is related to his cultural environment, rather than to any innate (or inherited) ability or aptitude. There is no "German race", only a German nationality, there is no "Jewish race", only a Jewish socio-religious community; there is no "Aryan race", only an Aryan language; there is no "master race" only political bombast!"

RELIGION

Religion gave to the American people one of the most solid foundations of their society. The religious persecution of groups in Europe was the main reason for the emigration of the first settlers. They were Calvinists, or the Puritans, who developed from the religious movement called the Reformation. When they came to America, they had two main objectives: to build up a new land and to worship their God freely.

They could then, in their new land far from the persecution, dedicate themselves to work and to "increase wealth, because wealth is nice to God and it's an evidence of good work" (4).

While "the catholics have their retreat, they withdraw themselves to a convent to communicate with God, the Calvinists can speak with Him in the city, in the workshop, in the weaver's loom, in the factory" (5).

"To the catholic the best virtues are the theological ones;

to the Puritan, the paramount virtues are economic-thrift, work and the best employment of time" (6).

Therefore, we can conclude that religion was one of the most important (both moral and practical) supports of the American economy, as well as economy is one of the reasons for its current abundance.

THE NATURE OF MAN

The greatest differences between the two cultures is highlighted during the analysis, regarding the heritage of both peoples.

The "Mazombo" (7)

The word - Brazilian - was hardly known by the middle of the eighteenth century. Men who were born on Brazilian territory - the "Mazombo" - were a social category to whom no one wanted to belong. No one who came to Brazil, at that time, intended to stay. Their aim, instead, was to become rich and return home. Only those exiled were supposed to stay. Even the Captainship Donees (8) refused to move. This situation was rendered harder after it became known that the land did not have the wealth that people had expected. This led to a complete aversion by the early settlers towards Brazil. Nevertheless, some population centres began to grow.

The first "Mazombos", sons of Portuguese settlers developed a new spirit - the "mazombismo" (9). This spirit (tendency) gave

birth to a special sort of behavior that can be defined as follows:

- an inability to conform with traditional Portuguese values;
- lack of determination and satisfaction of being Brazilian, consequently, a lack of collective ideal.

They lived with their eyes turned towards Europe. At first chance, they went to Portugal to complete their studies at Coimbra, thus developing the illusion that they were Portuguese. When they returned, however, they felt like lost Europeans in a Brazilian land. They lived near the coast with their back turned to interior. They refused to participate in the country's life.

Therefore, the "mazombo" went through centuries of Brazilian history, taking with him his frustrations and complexes. Early in the last century he still felt himself to be Portuguese spiritually; hence, Brazil bothered him. Late, in the same century Brazil really annoyed him, since it was not the projection of France - the country by which most standards were measured at that time.

We can see in his psychological profile that he did not consider himself to be either politically or socially equal to other Brazilians. Instead, he saw himself as privileged. He felt that life ought to be based on rights and prerogatives. Only authority and responsibility were important to him. He did not dedicate himself to any kind of work; this was for slaves. He

was ashamed of certain jobs. His culture was static and abstract. Therefore, he turned towards eruditism, humanistic pretension and concerned himself with ornamental culture, thus impregnating the country's cultural centers. His heroes were the erudite, the dillettants, the owners of culture without practical objective. For the "mazombo", it was elegant to show disregard for money.

When Brazil became independent from Portugal, in 1822, it had a "sui generis" situation. It was an Empire up to 1889, where its first Emperor was Portuguese and the second his son. All that heritage of culture ran through the nineteenth century.

Brazil as we know it now arrived in this century, reflecting the same problems brought from the "mazombos". It was entirely unprepared to take advantage of the industrial era that was consolidated by the great scientific discoveries of the last century.

Brazil began its settlements almost a hundred years before the USA and reached the twentieth century almost a hundred years later.

The Mestizo

The mestizo, a remarkable feature of the Brazilian's colonial period, was the result of the illegal unions. As a general rule, he was the product of a sexual union between the Portuguese who had arrived without their families and both Indians and Africans.

So it is understandable that people born in such conditions, and normally abandoned by their parents, might

develop a tendency to rebel. The Mestizo's main characteristics would be emotional instability, marginalism, laziness, social unsuitability, and a lack of determination and initiative.

Thus, the two major population components - the "mazombos" and mestizos, when seen together, provide an idea of the major characteristics of Brazilian culture: disaffection with organized employment. Even the abolition of slavery could not bring a radical change; Brazilians continued to feel the same unreasonable prejudices inherited from their ancestors against organized work.

Some seemed to be demeaning or degrading; only certain professions and activities appeared suitable to their social dignity.

Although the circumstances faced by the "mazombos" and mestizos seem to have brought a huge negative burden, together with three other important groups responsible by Brazilian nationality's formation (the Portuguese, the Africans and the Indians), they gave birth to a society whose main characteristics are: sensitivity, creativity, spontaneousness, improvisation, racial and religious tolerance, true friendship, social refinement and over-all culture.

The American

While the dominant thought in Brazil was to make a fortune and return, immigrants in the USA wished to be American. They turned their back on Europe because of religious, economic and political

reasons. They chose to be Americans. While the "mazombismo" prevailed in Brazil, in the USA, the successors of the early colonizers and pioneers worked and invented.

Mechanics, engineers, organizers, accountants, managers and inventors are the Americans heroes. Their culture is dynamic and practical. All things can be improved. They only preserve those things that succeed. They like the activities where manual skill is required. Inventions come one after another. Up to 1952, about 2.600.000 inventions were registered by the Patent Office.

A sense of immediate utility prevails for all the jobs. Even their homes mirror this statement. All rooms are functional. The living-room is their favorite place. There, they receive their visitors, discuss the daily problems. The basement is a real workshop or laboratory. They improve and develop with manual work and have an aptitude toward research.

Americans develop a broad veneration to the dignity of work. Whatever stigma related to a job soon disappeared with the waves of migration and abolition. No longer was one job more important than another. The Calvinist thought concerning the dignity that all jobs would equalize everybody soon prevailed. Shame is not due to a certain kind of job; shame is not to work.

A more accurate appreciation of the current American society can be found in Professor L. Robert Kohl's paper - "The Values Americans live by". This essay points out the current Americans Values, it traces a parallel with other cultures. The differences between Brazil and the USA can be identified in the

paper:

- Equality: It is a civic and social objective of high importance. The author points out that "seven-eighths of the world feel quite differently. To them rank, status and authority are seen as much desirable considerations".

Brazilian culture, as is the case in most societies, pays particular attention to the values of the individual.

- Future Orientation: It results from the style of living since the very beginning of settlement. Tradition and the presence of the past are deep-rooted in the Brazilian thought.

- Action/Work Orientation: It is one of the main reasons for American dominance. On the other hand, however, if carried to extreme, it may result in a form of work neurosis where everything must be pre-planned and scheduled. During the study of Brazil's case a dislike for organized work was evident. Less organized work, however, does lead to more creativity and above all spontaneousness.

- Informality: It may be seen as a direct consequence of equality. Brazilians are basically informal in their relations when not at work. In their job, however, their relationship tends to be formal because of the authority involved.

- Openness and Honesty: "Americans have always preferred the direct approach. They consider anything other than the most

direct and open approach to be dishonest and insincere".

Brazilians, on the other hand, dislike an abrupt or calculated approach. Their indirect approach, most of the times, will not necessarily reflect lack of sincerity.

- Materialism/Acquisitiveness: These are consequences of the work ethic and country's successful economy. Few societies are as successful as the American in this area.

PARTIAL CONCLUSION

Some conclusions, focusing only the sociopsychological aspects, flow from study about the unequal development between Brazilians and Americans. None of the issues, seen separately, can account for the differences between the two peoples, but taken together, they do explain dissimilarities in attitude and behaviour.

Motivation of early settlers show an important advantage to the Americans: they were oriented to a new nation where everything could be created and an ideal way of life developed. They escaped from persecution to freedom. The Brazilian settlers, however, either came under sufferance or were attracted by the illusion of riches. The non-discovery of wealth brought them early disillusionment.

Religion acted as a catalyst to American development. The more successful the man, the closer he was to God. Motivation plus work was the formula to economic development. Although

mixing the races in Brazil removed the roots of a racial discrimination, it kept in the mestizos traces of revolt, dislike for organized labor and laziness.

Another important element that set up Brazilians nationality was the "mazombo" who lived in permanent internal struggle. He was born in Brazil but he would have liked to be Portuguese. He had aversion to work, because this was the responsibility of the slaves.

As a result, Brazilian society developed a dislike for organized work and did not take part in the industrial revolution and currently pays a high price to diminish the gap towards progress. Brazilian society is still impregnated by Portugal's cultural weakness. The prejudice against certain jobs is still alive; there is a lack of cohesion; Brazilians are more impressed by quick gains than ones associated with hard work over a long period of time. A change in these attitudes is more important than an artificial culture. Brazilians have to absorb technique and to face science seriously.

Changing a traditional outlook is not easy. Some generations are required to make fundamental changes. But change has already started. Time and correct government action, directed at appropriate social segments will narrow this gap and, of course, the Brazilian people will take advantage of their qualities to achieve the country's true potential.

An examination of American society, its role and values may also show how Brazil and the USA could develop closer relations.

Just as Americans are conscious of their values and are proud of their heritage, others, too, may feel the same regarding their own history and development.

When at the bargaining table where the interests of both parties are at stake, personal relationships can dictate the tone of the agreement (or disagreement). Americans mindful of their values and moved basically by rationalism and objectivity, tend to disregard the sensibility and the subjectivity of other civilizations. This normally results in reciprocal intolerance which is the root of most misunderstanding.

Men and their subjectivity are highlighted when we deal with the sociopsychological aspect. Subjectivity is found in most of societies but the American. Therefore, it is impossible to expect that other civilizations, with different pasts, experiences and aspirations can behave in a merely objective and rational way as the Americans do. The awareness of this difference has led to many people to keep away from Americans.

Within the realm of ideas, an arena where everyone is involved, relationships among nations are based upon the relationship between individuals. It is precisely at this moment that subjectivity emerges.

The American life style is always hurried; it praises the work ethic; it is slave to economic virtues; it puts the right of property above all; it enjoys an isolationist outlook; it grants material inventions a high degree of attention; but it tends to forget that the man, the cause of much greatness can, with a guided subjectivity, destroy all of his creations.

CHAPTER III

ENDNOTES

- (1) See map (Appendix I)
- (2) The Saturday Evening Post's reporters could find only two survivors of the migratory expeditions. The Amazon forest had "swallowed" all the others - men, women and their children.
- (3) Wilton Marion Krogman, "The Races of Mankind", in Information Please Almanac, ed. by John Kieran, p.740.
- (4) Vianna Moog, Bandeirantes e Pioneiros, p. 82
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) The word "Mazombo" was used to define the individuals who were born in Brazil from Portuguese parents.
- (8) Six of the fourteen Captainship Donees never went to their lands to take over. Only two Captainships succeeded.
- (9) "Mazombismo" - n. refering to "Mazombo".

CHAPTER IV

DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS

Brazilian action in the diplomatic arena has undoubtedly been influenced by its complete respect for its assumed commitments in international agreements.

The most important documents, concerning international agreements, that place Brazil as an allied country, both in the worldwide and in the inter-american arenas are shown bellow.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

It was signed in San Francisco on 26 July 1945 during the United Nations International Organization Conference and ratified on 12 September 1945 by the Brazilian Government. Its Article 43 states:

"1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including right of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security".

In accordance with this article, and responding to a United Nations Organization (UNO) call, Brazil sent a battalion to Suez. It remained in Egypt from 1956 to 1967 as part of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN STATES (OAS)

(Reformed by the Protocol of Buenos Aires)

The Charter was signed in Bogota - Colombia, on 30 April 1948, and the Protocol was signed on 27 February 1967. They were ratified by the Brazilian Government respectively on 11 February 1950 and 03 April 1968. The Article 28 deals with the employment of armed force regarding the maintenance of collective security.

"If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an armed attack or by an act of aggression that is not an armed attack... or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the American States, ... shall apply the measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject".

Accordingly, with this article, Brazil sent a battalion to Dominican Republic to be integrated with the Inter-American Peace Force. This battalion remained during the sixteen months of conflict.

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE (RIO PACT)

Signed at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security (Rio de Janeiro, August 15/September 02, 1947). Its Article 3 states:

"1. The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each

one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations".

VALUATION

It was clearly understood that in all treaties the USA, as leader of the western bloc and the richest in resources as they relate to the four instruments of power, would be the greatest supporter and the real guarantor of these agreements. This is particularly so with regard to the Americas which represent a significant portion of the Third World. As such, they are a frequent target for infiltration by other ideologies, and the USA is the principal actor in the maintenance of collective security.

THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS WAR

The war resulted from the Argentine invasion of the Falklands Islands, on 02 April 1982, and was a very accurate test of the validity of the above mentioned agreements.

The invasion gave birth to an immediate reaction by the United Kingdom. Given the failure of mediation, attempted by the Secretary of State Alexander Haig, the British decided to retake the islands through armed intervention.

The USA, alleging disapproval (1) to Argentine aggression and due to the failure in mediation, committed itself in support of the United Kingdom - one of the Seven Great Powers and its partner in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The American

intervention came by way of material support to the British and economic sanctions and halt of military assistance to Argentina. It appeared to the Argentinians that the USA had forgotten Article 3 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (above) and that stated in the Article 27 of the Charter of OAS which states:

"Every act of aggression by a State against the territorial integrity or the inviolability of the territory or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State shall be considered an act of aggression against the other American States".

The consequences of the American posture have been felt throughout South America. They can be outlined as:

- It gave the countries the exact awareness of their importance. The US clearly favoured a NATO ally and not a country located in an area of secondary importance;
- It increased distrust for USA's programs in the region;
- Most of the countries woke up to the necessity of developing their own technology, aiming at self-sufficiency in the matter of defense material, in order not to depend on foreign supply in the event of war;
- The intervention in Grenada (October 1983) was seen by many countries as an imperialist intervention against the sovereignty of a nation.

THE CONTADORA PROCESS

General

The Contadora Process is a diplomatic response to increased accusations and counter-accusations concerned armed aggression, subversive activities and sabotage among the countries of Central America.

The Group (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama), recognized that the United Nations, and non Latin American nations and private organizations had not achieved any degree of success in resolving regional problems. Furthermore, the Contadora nations see the process as a symbol of Latin American independence, and a signal that Latin America has the capability to work out its own problems.

Foundations

As a political instrument, its objective is the peaceful solution of regional problems in accordance with Articles 2 and 33 of the UN Charter. Creation of the Contadora Group is in accordance with the Article 52 of the same document, that says:

"1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations".

Brazilian Posture

Brazil, as well as some other Latin American countries, has supported the principles established in the "Document of Objectives" which identified 21 political, security and socio-economic goals to be negotiated.

Since one of the countries that comprises the Contadora Group is Nicaragua, whose current government tends toward marxist ideology and, of course, is supported by both the Soviet Union and Cuba, the Brazilian posture has surprised the USA. But it must be realized that Brazilian diplomacy, faithful to its traditions, will support the peaceful solution of internal troubles and reject intervention.

So Brazil, following this line of thought, favors the creation of a regional arrangement which leads to the peaceful solution of problems.

CHAPTER IV

ENDNOTES

- (1) The US position was clarified in a White House statement issued on April 2: "We have made clear to the Government of Argentina that we deplore use of force to resolve this dispute. We have called on Argentina to cease, immediately, hostilities and to withdraw its military forces from Falklands Islands". Ronald E. Nuechterlein, America Overcommitted, p.160

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

GENERAL

Since both countries live under a capitalist economy, it can be observed that the remarkable differences in their development undoubtedly will find one of its roots in the economic process.

ORIGINS OF THE IMBALANCE

Economic aspects were not notable in the sixteenth century when settlement was not extensive in Brazil and colonization had not started in the USA. Neither did the next two centuries point out any noticeable differences.

At that time, the Brazilian economy was characterized by extractive industry (particularly lumber), an incipient agriculture and a primitive cattle raising which resulted in large farms. The South of the USA was based on the monoculture of cotton and presented a similar view. The North, however, developed along quite different lines.

The Americans, because of their efforts and the existence in their soil of the raw materials they needed could, from the very beginning, launch themselves towards industrialization. Iron and coal were located near their industries. Both were of high quality and so the production of steel was easier. The colonizers, as good craftsmen, developed the handling of metals

and the textile industry. They then undertook ship building, fishing and later to commerce in furs. Freedom of commerce stimulated all these activities and increased the market for consumption.

DEVELOPMENTAL DIFFERENCES EXPAND

The imbalance gets even bigger in the second half of the eighteenth century. Gold is discovered in Brazil and the framework of agricultural is broken. The concern to get wealth quickly re-appeared. It led to an amazing exodus from the farms and those who succeeded took their gold to Portugal. Furthermore, as a colony, Brazil was obliged to pay taxes to Lisbon based on mining and exploitation revenues. Therefore, gold brought wealth to Portugal and to a few men but never to Brazil.

Iron and coal were found in Brazil too. Even though the former was abundant, the latter was of bad quality, so the production of steel was difficult and the industry was not stimulated.

In 1776 the US became independent. In 1781, in Yorktown, British troops finally surrendered. After the defeat the British and the Tories (their sympathizers) withdrew from the US. The Tories, the owners of the largest slice of industry and commerce in the North, retreated leaving their wealth which became either that of the States or of individuals.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution occurred in Europe. But Brazil was unprepared for this event and

quickly lost ground. On the other hand, the USA was sufficiently prepared to take advantage of it and to emerge immediately into the industrial era.

In Europe investment in the USA was encouraged. The Europeans were attracted to buy lands in the new nation. The Americans, taking advantage of the growing profits generated by commerce and industry, launched themselves towards the west. Investments came one after another and the profits increased quickly. Thus supported by a strong economic base, the American mid-west was conquered. It was the golden epoque of development. Under the influence of the industrial revolution, the period of great inventions was inaugurated. They contributed synergistically to the quickness of the growth and the great economic push.

Some facts have to be highlighted to prove the American development boom. These facts were responsible for the foundations of American growth, and they made it a nation of the first magnitude:

- 1807 - Robert Fulton makes first practical steamboat trip;
- 1812 - Ely Whitney establishes the sharing working system;
- 1828 - First railroad is begun;
- 1833 - Hussey reaper revolutionizes harvesting of grain crops;
- 1839 - Charles Goodyear discovers process for vulcanization of rubber;
- 1844 - Samuel Morse sends first telegraph message;
- 1848 - Gold is discovered at Sutter's Mill; sets off California gold rush;

- 1865 - Civil War ends with surrender of Confederate States. The industrialized North wins;
- 1869 - First transcontinental railroad;
- 1878 - First telephone exchange opened;
- 1879 - Thomas A. Edison invents first practical electric lamp.

As the nineteenth century continues, Brazil loses its gold, gets its independence (even though it remains in fact linked to Portugal under two Emperors until 1889), and returns to farming but does not advance economically. It enters the twentieth century without regard to what is happening abroad. It does not industrialize itself in relation to its potential. A few initiatives, such as the first flight in heavier-than-air mechanically propelled aircraft, performed by Alberto Santos Dumont, do not get sufficient economic support and, therefore, cannot be exploited.

But in the USA progress is enhanced:

- 1902 - America's first movie house opens in Los Angeles;
- 1903 - Orville and Wilbur Wright make successful flights in a heavier-than-air aircraft, the same way as Santos Dumont did in Paris;
- 1908 - Henry Ford introduces an efficient low-cost car and "puts America on wheels". It begins the era of mass production;
- 1914 - Panama Canal is built by the USA. It makes for easy to travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific;

- 1927 - First coast-to coast radio network broadcast. First non-stop flight across the Atlantic;
- 1942 - Physicists at University of Chicago achieve first nuclear chain reaction. It is the beginning of the Nuclear Era.

Since then, discoveries in the fields of the atom, electronics and electricity succeed in quick progression. Time assumes new dimensions. The space race against the Soviet Union culminated with a moon landing on 20 July 1969.

After the listing of these facts (only the most important), the rapid growth of the USA is understandable. The inventions made industrial methods easy; they enabled the exchange among the various regions and allowed for commercial flux. In sum, they were the cause of spectacular economic development. They were both marks of the American and world-wide improvement.

THE CURRENT ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

It is outside the scope of this paper to consider the current American economy. It is enough to say that it is still the first economic power, as evidenced by some of the aspects pointed out above. The main question, therefore, is how Brazil allowed itself to delay so much. As already stated Brazil began its settlement (although in a fragmented manner) almost a century ahead of the USA but arrived in the twentieth century almost a hundred years behind.

The march undertaken to close the economic gap effectively began

after World War II (WWII), rather than in the fifties: the larger industries developed; metallurgy and automotive industries were established and quickly enlarged; the energy sector increased; both internal and external commerce expanded; and the Capital of the nation moved to the central part of the country, thus opening new areas and changing the focus of Brazil's development.

But the gap was so extensive and the time to redress Brazil's deficiencies so short that it was necessary to raise loans which, unfortunately, resulted in high interest payments. The country indebted itself in such a way that today it has the second highest foreign debt.

The government currently struggles with an economic crisis because of several reasons. To make the situation even worse, Brazil is undergoing a major political transformation and change of course involving a constitutional reformation and the consideration of another form of government. While it is necessary first to stabilize the country politically, the economic crisis is a daily issue which worries both government and citizens.

PARTIAL CONCLUSION

The roots of imbalance between Brazil and US were highlighted during the analysis of the economic aspects. Even with a century's start, the Brazilian economy differed marginally from that of the US until the middle of eighteenth century.

While the US was preparing for the arrival of the industrial era, the Brazilian economy returned to extractive enterprises.

Its historical development can be measured in cycles that correspond to predominance of a certain product: cycles of "pau-brasil", sugar cane, cattle raising and coffee.

The discovery of gold, which dismantled the agricultural based economy, resulted in little growth as much of the wealth was taken to Portugal.

The US, however, took advantage of the Industrial Revolution that gave impetus to the great inventions. Meanwhile, independent Brazil remained linked to Portuguese and rural traditions, bonded to the monoculture of coffee. The consequence was an increase in the US economy at a geometric rate while the economy of Brazil was restricted to an arithmetic rate.

The current situation, therefore, is that the US is linked to a progressive capitalism which is aware of its social commitments while Brazil is a prisoner of a political-economic crisis, with large governmental interference in the economy which creates paternalism and makes harder the development of free enterprise. The huge foreign debt can only be paid after political stability is assured because that is an essential condition for growth.

It must also be realized that today no country is likely to emerge from a political-economic crisis of this magnitude within a few terms of government. Brazil's path and pace of development should be dictated by its own society, without forgetting its assumed commitments to "never pay the foreign debt with the hunger of its people"(1).

CHAPTER V

ENDNOTES

- (1) Brazilian President José Sarney, Speech of Innauguration, 17 March 1985.

CHAPTER VI

MILITARY ASPECTS

This chapter will not concentrate on why America became a super power in military terms but will review the situation as it relates to Brazil and, in so doing, examine the development, current framework, and the future of Brazilian Armed Forces.

HISTORICAL TRADITION OF THE SERVICES

The history of the Brazilian Armed Forces is that of its national history. It initially arose as a pure manifestation of national feeling during the campaign aimed at throwing out the Dutch in the mid seventeenth century. In this episode whose main events were two battles of "Guararapes" (1648 and 1649) the people and the Militias fought side by side against the Dutch showing perfect identity of purposes.

The Brazilian Army was created in 1824 soon after Independence (1822). Its principal role in the early years of the new nation was to consolidate independence and avoid separatist movements such as the "Farroupilha" Revolution in the South (1835/1845).

During the last century most of the countries in South America gained independence. It was the phase of establishing frontiers. Both the Army and the Navy were involved in campaigns to protect Brazilians and avoid invasions of their territory. Two of those wars deserve to be mentioned mainly because of the amount of people and troops involved and their duration.

In 1850 the chief of the "Blanco" Party of Uruguay Manuel Oribe and his Argentinean ally Manuel Rosas blocked the port of Montevideo precluding navigation in the "Prata" river. The frequent actions of their troops jeopardized the Brazilian people in the Uruguayan border area. So Brazil decided to intervene and an alliance formed by Brazilian Armed Forces (Army and Navy) plus troops from Uruguay and Argentina fought for two years (1851-1852) in the region.

In 1864 Brazil was involved again with Argentineans and Uruguayans to wage a war against Francisco Solano Lopes - the Paraguayan dictator. In the so called Triple Alliance War, troops of these countries fought the most important war in South America. In 1870 when the Paraguayans surrendered the dictator's dreams of expansionism were definitely stopped.

In pursuit of the new form of National Integration represented by the Republican Movement, the Army was the decisive element both for the installation of the Republic and later under the leadership of Marshal Floriano Peixoto (the second President) for its survival.

During the 1922 to 1930 revolutionary phase, the Army had a decisive role in the Revolution of 1930 when it ended The First Republic defeating the dominant oligarchy. In doing so, it reflected the general wishes of the nation, which was anxious for the regeneration of Republican Institutions.

A faithful interpretation of the Army's role from 1930 to 1945 reveals its constant concern to preserve internal law and to

combat political extremism, communism in particular. The military were precisely the main targets of the 1935 Communist⁶ Revolt, as the Armed Forces represented the people's rejection against communist tenets.

Brazil took part in WWII sending one Division to Italy - The First Expeditionary Division - that integrated with the IV American Corps under the command of LTG Mark Clark. In accordance with the International agreement which raised the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), Brazil deployed a battalion to the Gaza Strip (1956-1967) - Brazil also sent under Organization of American States auspices, one battalion to the Dominican Republic (1965/66) (1).

The three Service, in accordance with constitutional rights, and exercising their joint responsibility for national security and as defenders of the national institutions, took part in the Democratic Revolution in March 1964. The Revolution taking account of Brazil's expectations and declared wishes, rejected communism and threw out of power the officials who attempted its imposition against constitutional principles and the Brazilian people's peaceful character.

But when the Revolution broke out the communists thought that the process of the country's communization was advanced and the final stroke almost ripped so the Democratic Revolution caught them by surprise.

After a brief period of self-analysis and reorganization they turned back to the scene again in secret. They had achieved a huge infiltration in all sectors of the society, mainly in the media, plus the support of the worldwide communist movement.

They came back to action using initially students and workers. A phase of terrorism, kidnapping and robberies that characterizes the urban guerilla followed. The second phase put emphasis on rural guerilla actions given a deep Cuban influence their sponsorship of these efforts.

During these two phases the authorities needed to take more strict action for the preservation of democratic institutions. Therefore, both the police and the Armed Forces were employed. Of course, both institutions became the main target of leftist campaigns once they were the main obstacle to the communists' achieving their objectives.

A broad campaign, both in the internal and external arenas, was launched to discredit the Armed Forces. This initiative tried to link any failure of the national administration to the military intervention. Such disinformation achieved some success in both arenas. Concerning the internal field, it reached the classes which suffered more due to the economic and social imbalances, and did not have clear understanding to realize their causes. In the international arena disinformation affected individuals or segments which misunderstood or could not clearly understand the depth of Brazilian problems.

In 1985 democratic rule was re-established. During the last three years, the new government has been trying to resolve the principal economic, political and social problems asking for the support of all segments of the society.

The Armed Forces are acting in this new phase of the

national life as supporters of a peaceful democratic transition. In this role they are guaranteeing the tasks of elaboration of the new Constitution, supporting the achievement of solutions to the problems, without intervening in the management of public matters.

In this moderating role, having the consolidation of national ideals as their aim, the Armed Forces are getting meaningful support from the people.

Therefore, the historical tradition of the military as guarantor of the people and national institutions in close identification with the nation's wishes has once again been realized.

CURRENT OUTLOOK

The Brazilian Armed Forces are currently committed to a detailed program of improvement concerning personnel, material and administrative issues. The chief objective is preparedness aimed at properly adjusting to the requirements of both modern and future wars. The Brazilian Armed Forces want to deal with internal as well as external commitments. Art of war evolution within short, medium and long terms has been studied, and these studies are projected through the second decade of the next century. The key word is modernization and some of the basic ideas are as follows:

- the Services have to be equipped with modern equipment relevant to the operational environment and likely engagements;
- reduction as much as possible from dependence on external

sources of supply:

- research and development of doctrine regarding personnel and material;
- formation of proper and qualified human resources;
- integration of Services, particularly in scientific research, technological development and operations planning and execution.

As part of the Army's goals, an aviation branch has been formed. This will cater to the requirements of modern combat and the need for an air-mobility role because of the large distances in Brazil.

The high degree of scientific progress, resulting from international exchange and internal research, has provided Brazil with a potential nuclear capability. Brazil is self-sufficient in radioactive minerals, and it has "yellow-cake" technology; it also has an active atom plant with a further three projected. Furthermore, it recently (August 1987) controlled the atomic process, thus becoming a potential member of the "Atomic Club".

BRAZILIAN DEFENSE EQUIPMENT

The need for self-sufficiency concerning defense equipment was one of the most important consequences of the Falklands (Malvinas) War within the strategic frame of South America.

After ceasing to be reliant on military agreements with the US, Brazil started research to produce new weapons and equipment. Since the Falklands War, the goal has been self-sufficiency and military industry has improved considerably. Brazil has achieved

much and is placed among the biggest worldwide exporters. National industry has been broadly stimulated by Services demands and export.

A number of plants produce solely defense equipment while others can mobilize part or all of their assembly-lines to meet Service requirements.

Some goods deserve to be identified as evidence of the high technology development reached:

- Armoured vehicles and tanks.

Some of the largest Brazilian industries are committed to produce these items. This sector has achieved great success with regard to research, production and export. The biggest buyers are located in the Middle East and are mainly Arab countries. The most important products are:

- main battle tanks: MB3 - "Tamoyo" and EET1 - "Osório";
- 6x6 armoured reconnaissance and combat vehicle EE9 - "Cascavel";
- 6x6 wheeled armoured personnel carrier (amphibious) EE11 - "Urutú";
- 4x4 wheeled armoured reconnaissance vehicle EE3 - "Jararaca";
- infantry transport and combat vehicle - "Charrua";
- the M41 and the M113 re-powered;
- combat car for engineering purposes Sherman M4 (re-powered).

- Artillery and Rocket Systems
 - artillery saturation rocket systems - ASTROS II, with nominal ranges from 30 to 60km;
 - fire control unit - "EDT Fila";
 - 155 self-propelled howitzer with base-bleed ammunition.
- Infantry Weapons
 - carbines, revolvers, pistols (9mm), machine guns, light automatic rifles 7.62 "FAL", flame-throwers, rocket launchers and recoilless rifles.
- Ammunition and Components
 - all the artillery ammunition (field, anti-aircraft and naval) up to 155mm, all kinds of rockets for their launchers and all the range of infantry ammunition (grenades for recoilless rifles, mortars and for light weaponry).
- Communication Equipment
 - all sort of transceivers (portables, vehicular and fixed);
 - telephones;
 - automatic fire control systems.
- Electronic Equipment
 - surface-to-air defense systems (radar, TV, laser and computers);
 - satellite communication earth systems;
 - inertial sensors and angular measuring devices for artillery.
- Aircraft

Another field of broad development. All the fixed-wing aircraft have proved their effectiveness. It is an important item of export.

- light-seat helicopter HB 350B - Squirrel;
- basic/advanced turboprop military trainer - "Tucano";
- military transport for 19 paratroopers/SAR missions EMB 110 - "Bandeirante" - useful in low intensity conflict environment;
- maritime surveillance version with nose-mounted search radar EMB 111 - "Bandeirante";
- pressurized regional airlines for maritime patrol, AEW, paratroopers drop, etc. - "Brasília";
- ground attack aircraft, AMX. Brazil is responsible for 30% of development and production.
- Combat and Patrol Ships

Current production includes the manufacture of patrol boats (up to 57m), corvettes (up to 95m) and frigates (up to 130m). Capabilities: production of support vessels, combat vessels including carriers (aircraft/helicopter), destroyers and nuclear submarines.

PARTIAL CONCLUSION

The close identity of the Armed Forces with the popular wishes has been consistent throughout Brazilian history. It was reflected in the people's total support whenever the Services were called to intervene in external or internal arenas. The Armed Forces and Government, aware of their missions, live in

harmony, and they have a common position regarding the country's destiny. The leftist wave of propaganda that took place after the Democratic Revolution of 1964 was defeated by acts and facts that show the people the military's real image,

So the Clausewitzian trinity is completed. The Government, the Armed Forces and the people join to face any threat to national security or to fulfill external commitments (in accordance with the people's legitimate wishes) where strength is needed to accomplish the necessary international agreements. The support of any war by maintenance of this trinity can be likened to a three-legged stool; a shortening of any leg will cause the stool to fall. This was the case with Vietnam War. The people became aware that the US was fighting "the wrong war, in the wrong place at the wrong time" (2). This attitude was transmitted to the Congress. As a result, an agreement was then pursued which would bring an honorable end to the war and bring "the boys back".

Side by side the nation and the Armed Forces equip themselves and they improve their human potential. Defense industry has, for instance, also met the Nation's goals regarding research, projects and realizations. It succeeded in both satisfying the requirements for Service modernization and in launching their products on the worldwide market.

The technological push of Brazilian industry trying to meet Nation's objectives and security can be appreciated in the Army Minister's words: "No State should technologically restrain itself for to do so is to adopt an absurd attitude of limiting its

greatness and sovereignty" (3).

Therefore, Brazil is properly prepared and equipped according to the current reality, with its eyes turned to the future.

CHAPTER VI

ENDNOTES

- (1) "...six Latin American nations joined the Inter-American Peace Force..."

"...1600 Latin soldiers and policemen from Brazil, Honduras, Paraguay, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Costa Rica".

"Brazil contributed the largest Latin contingent, an entire infantry battalion (1130 men), and was the only Latin nation to provide its own logistic support".

Lawrence M.Greenberg, "The US Dominican Intervention: Success Story", Parameters, US Army War College Quarterly, December 1987, pp.25 and 29.

- (2) Melvin R. Laird, "A Strong Start in a Difficult Decade", in International Security, Fall 1985, (Vol 10 No 2), p.8.

- (3) Leonidas P. Gonçalves, Brazilian Army Minister, in Noticiário do Exército, Brasília, DF, July 1987, p.1.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This essay focused on the Brazilia-United States bi-lateral relationship using the four instruments of power as a means of comparision. It emphasized the sociopsychological aspects because of the belief that man is the synthesis of a people's history and the mirror of his society. He is the factor which, in the ultimate analysis, can determine his place among nations.

The differences between groups which make up Brazilian society can be appreciated in relation to their process of evolution, their multi-form environments, and the convergence of certain factors which, under certain conditions, including time and place, result in different outlooks and attitudes.

Concerning Americans, their development since early times has been most favorable. Their motivation was the initial strength which pushed them to work, and it was the origin of the chain of events which has led them to the present situation. Their co-operative spirit developed. The economy reinforced by the tenets of Calvinism grew up. The soil gave them essential natural resources. Breaking with the past led them to a permanent orientation towards the future. Hidden by their isolationism they entered the Industrial Revolution and emerged in the twentieth century as the strongest power. Their notion of the essential dignity of work and their emphasis on economic virtues were the ultimate factors which clearly placed the USA in their current

advantageous situation

In Brazil, development was not so propitious. A disordered and un-motivated colonization resulted in deep scars in its evolutionary process. The wish to get rich quickly, the linkage to past traditions and the exaggerated individualism and prejudice against organized work were all present until 1950.

Brazil reached the twentieth century with the same symptoms that have marred its early development and placed it in an unfavorable position in relation to the USA. Nevertheless, from the fifties a national awareness of the need to redress this situation developed. Formulas have been attempted, and the solution appears to be embodied in a phenomenon called "americanization".

Its origins can be found in the post-war period. After WWII, Americans were considered to be the great winners. They were the heroes, and Brazilians felt proud of having fought side by side with them. American isolationism had ceased and the American way of life spread throughout the world. In Brazil the most varied daily activities had the American touch. Fashion, hair style, jeans, and large automobiles reflected glamor, comfort and status which would substitute for Europeans ones (smaller, cheaper and functional). Brazilians also began to like sandwiches and cafeterias which reflected the American penchant for fast meals. In the theater, American movies were much appreciated. An American taste, smell and image spread throughout the country.

After an increasing "Americanization" in the fifties and sixties, this image began to decline late in the last decade as Brazilians began to experiment with a different life style. Four major reasons are identifiable for this change in attitude.

First, a systematic campaign by left wing elements through the media (after the frustrated attempts to subvert the country that resulted in the Democratic Revolution of 1964) aimed at distorting the facts regarding Brazil's relationship with the United States.

Second, American intervention in other countries' domestic affairs, either directly or indirectly, sometimes by using force, showed diplomatic insensibility. This ran counter to Brazilian diplomatic tenets of self-determination and resulted in a media campaign linking these involvements to "Yankee interventionist" rhetoric.

Third, American retaliation against Brazilian protectionism hurts Brazil's economic situation. The huge foreign debt greatly affects the situation, as does the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) intervention in the Brazilian domestic economy. These issues have a negative impact on the bilateral relationship. Even though the IMF is a supra-national entity, it is generally believed to be manipulated by the American administration. When its mission was in Brazil attempting to convince Government officials to restructure the economy, this was seen as an improper intervention in domestic affairs and a threat to national sovereignty. The image of interference in internal

politics is etched in the people's mind.

Fourth, Americans tend to disregard Brazilian values either in the official relationship or among individuals. Americans should understand that their values considered paired with the counterpart values as pointed out in professor L. Robert Kohls' paper - "The Values Americans Live By" (see Appendix II) are not a one way street flowing only towards Americans.

Although these negative attitudes can lead to a serious rift, the situation has not reached the stage where it cannot be reversed. It is enough to realize Brazil's positive heritage, the enormous sensibility and emotiveness of the Brazilian people, their peaceful and orderly outlook, the non existence of xenophobia and the awareness of the need for progress.

The economic boom in the USA improved living standards resulting in remarkable social achievements. Research was developed in all the sectors of modern society. The Americans succeeded in the nuclear field. They increased the use of electricity and electronics and entered into space exploration. They became the leading exponent in the four instruments of power.

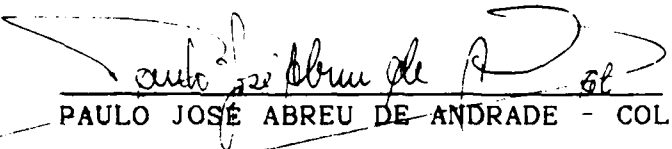
Meanwhile Brazil attempted to overcome its earlier deficiencies as quickly as possible. The nation developed an awareness of its future and efforts were made to abolish ancient traditions. Brazil tailored its economic development to a more realistic level. But progress has required a very high price.

With regard to military development, the three Services are

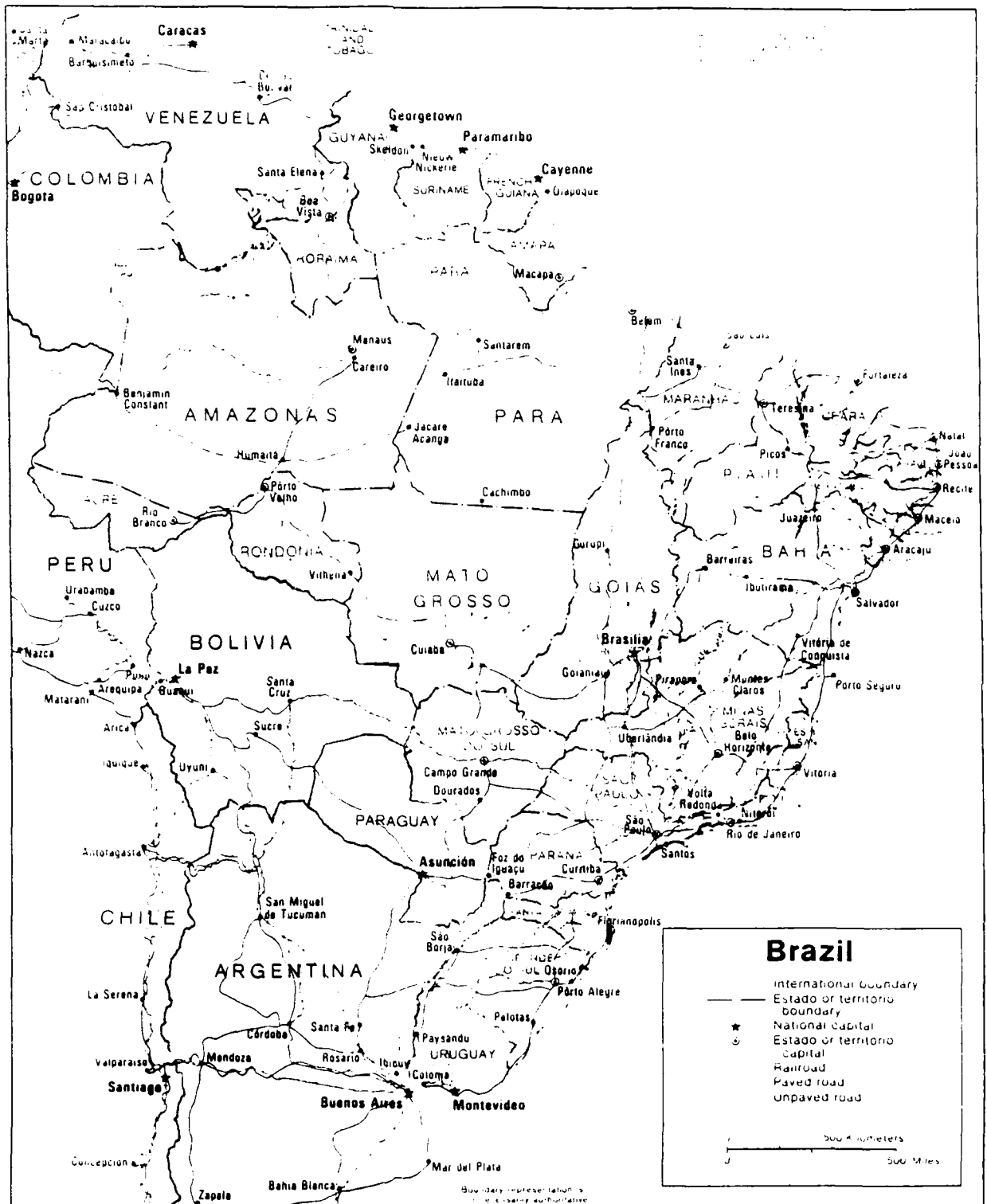
projecting their requirements for both external and internal security and are in the process of re-equipping and modernizing.

Ultimately, the Clausewitzian trinity is invoked once more in an effort to answer the questions posed by this paper. The Brazilian Government, aware of its commitments, will always be ready to honor its responsibilities in the international arena. In supporting both friends and allied nations the Armed Forces headed by capable chiefs and properly trained and equipped are ready to accomplish their missions as an allied force. But, would the Brazilian people be motivated (within the circumstances outlined in this paper) to fight for a cause which is not theirs? Would the people support an alliance with the United States?

NOTE: The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views either of the Brazilian Army or his country's Government.


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APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II

THE VALUES AMERICANS LIVE BY

BY L. ROBERT KOHLS

U.S. Values	Some Other Country's Values
Personal Control Over the Environment	Fate
Change	Tradition
Time & Its Control	Human Interaction
Equality	Hierarchy/Rank/Status
Individualism/Privacy	Group's Welfare
Self-Help	Birthright Inheritance
Competition	Cooperation
Future orientation	Past Orientation
Action/Work Orientation	"Being" Orientation
Informality	Formality
Directness/Openness/Honesty	Indirectness/Ritual/"Face"
Practicality/Efficiency	Idealism
Materialism/Acquisitiveness	Spiritualism/Detachment
Meridian House international 1984	

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